622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sickness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tübatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, koŝumye-he-huk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka-wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka-dbaŝapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 756 627 [579 177] Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. Violent deaths in crowds seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

682 Murders not condoned, either within or outside
721 tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money
671 did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full
425 amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he
422 whose arrow first touched deer could claim it,
578 although another man's arrow might have killed
627 animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle
626 of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of
[837] couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished
[836] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 A good man, man with a big heart, did not be-
577 come angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women
[578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (muśmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
●627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
756 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching
middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over pa-
tient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlIt was making a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they boiled and fried it. I met wišimlIt's youngest son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him before, because after wišimlIt's man was killed in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.

582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."

But my mother didn't want me to go with him; he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the mts. near the man's place for a long time. The man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming he would fly close to him, knock him down with his wings; then he would cut that man's load all to pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man, too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he never came back any more. That old man raised him; anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago. The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."

Four men went with him, away up on the S side of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That time my mother said to him, "You're all right." Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and helping us. His mother, wišimlIt, didn't pay anything for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlIt paid for her and brought her to yItiyamup to be Steban's wife. Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know anything about it. When he came home there was a wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too